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Svetlana Chervomaya

THE BOOMERANG OF HATRED

HOMES.
JOBS. AND
FOOD
RIGHT

Svetlana Chervonnaya

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THE BOOMERANG OF HATRED

On Racism in the USA

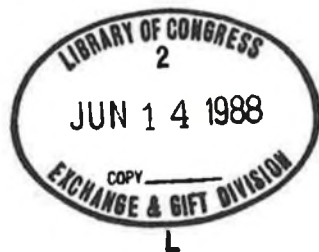
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*Again?
Where has terror been?
On vacation? Up North?
In some other section
Of the Nation,
Lying low, unpublicized,
Masked—with only
Jaundiced eyes showing
Through the mask?*

Langston Hughes

Crosses burning in the night with Ku Klux Klan hoods all around them, secret racist training camps, turned over school buses, blown-up residential houses, assassinations of activists of anti-racist organizations... These are not shots from an old documentary but the ominous face of America of the 1980s boasting of its "freedoms" and imposing its way of life on the peoples of other countries. However, racism in the United States in the 1980s has many faces. Racism means hopelessness and despair for millions who live in Negro and Hispanic ghettos and on Indian reservations. Today it wears not only Ku Klux Klan hoods but also judge's gowns; it is camouflaged with abstruse scientific terminology, and scientific findings are used to justify it.

What lies behind the new outburst of racism in a country where big civil rights marches and the

inspired faces of Blacks and Whites singing "We Shall Overcome" are still alive in the memory of the older generation? A new generation of Americans have grown up who have never seen the "White Only" signs and know about legalized racial segregation and discrimination only from history books.

Fifteen years ago many people in the United States thought that the wall of racism was about to tumble down. After years of persistent struggle by Blacks the government finally passed civil rights legislations and the courts handed down decisions granting Blacks legal equality with Whites. The riots sweeping black ghettos in the mid-1960s forced the ruling circles to adopt socio-economic programmes aimed at combatting racial discrimination. Both federal institutions and private firms hastened to hire a few representatives of ethnic minorities so as not to be considered reactionary. The door to higher education, a field with long-entrenched racist traditions, began to open more widely to Blacks, and employment opportunities for members of ethnic minorities also increased.

The American press loudly praised the "great progress" made by Blacks and other minorities, and announced the coming of an era of "universal prosperity, equality and fraternity". In the early 1970s reports on racial disturbances that had earlier troubled the conscience of many Americans disappeared from television screens. In the bourgeois press photographs of burning black ghetto districts were replaced by the smiling faces of "middle class" coloured citizens. White Americans were made to believe that by adopting civil rights legislations the United States had done its duty with regard to black Americans. From time to time, though, this harmony was upset by reports on protest demonstrations by Blacks, police vio-



From the shores of Africa began the sad journey to slavery in North America

lence in black ghettos, prosecution of civil rights activists and by statements critical of the situation in the civil rights field made by minority leaders. These alarming signals were immediately muffled by the powerful media. For a while the ruling class managed to ease America's anxiety over the racial problem which not long before had been regarded as one of the burning social problems in the United States.

But those hard-won concessions make only a breach in the wall of racism; they do not touch its deep historical and socio-economic roots. Racism, which penetrates every pore of American society, continues to affect the lives of black and other coloured Americans. A nationwide study carried out in the early 1980s demonstrated that racism remains a major obstacle to achieving racial equality in the United States. The changes that have

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not weakened the hold of racism. Modern racism is like an iceberg, with only the tip showing outright racial hatred and violence, while the exploitation of the minorities which is economically beneficial to the ruling class and the superprofits it yields remain hidden.

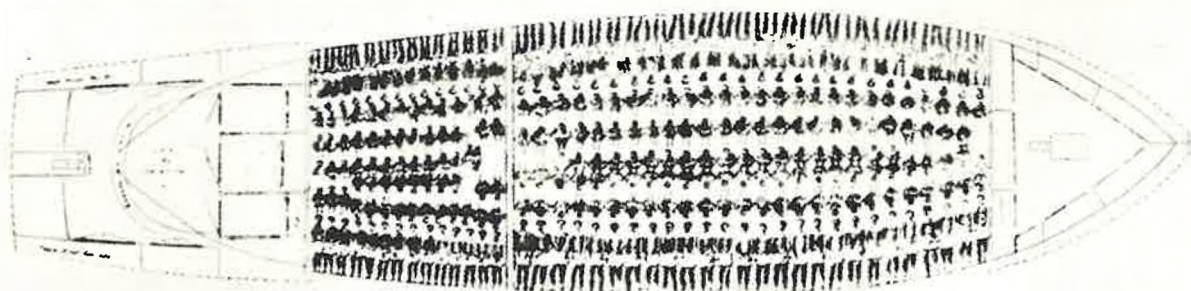
Racism in America was born at the same time as black slavery, in other words, in the first years of the colonization of North America by European settlers, and went hand in hand with the "clearing" of the continent of its indigenous population. The American state was established on a racist basis. Having proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence the democratic principle of equality, its authors, whom Americans refer to as the nation's Founding Fathers, did not even think of extending it to the Blacks or the indigenous population of the continent, or to any other coloured people in the country.

The policy towards the Blacks, the Indians, people of Mexican origin and those who came from Asian countries was one based on violence, coercion, and the infringement, both *de facto* and *de jure*, of their rights. The country's governing bodies used all their power and influence to protect and support the racist system of oppression. The years went by, new generations came, but the economic basis of racist oppression remained the same—ruthless exploitation of the minorities, and almost uncompensated use of the natural resources belonging to the country's indigenous population.

In the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century it was mainly the slave-owners who tried to perpetuate the system of racism. Following the abolition of slavery in 1865 the capitalist class began to support the system of legalized segregation and discrimination against

the former slaves, and for the same reason, namely, exploitation and the gaining of profits. The tentacles of this system reached out to the other minorities as well. The legacy of two and a half centuries of black slavery and a century of legalized racial discrimination and segregation have left a

Every square inch of the ship deck was used in taking the "live cargo" across the ocean



had become more difficult openly to pursue a policy of racism. Today few Americans believe seriously that it would be possible to return to the times of legalized racial discrimination and segregation. However, many would like to see the socio-economic gains of the minorities in the last decades reduced to nought in practice.

deep scar on the fate of several generations of coloured Americans.

Today the main source of racism is monopoly capital which derives enormous profits from exploiting the Blacks and other minorities. It is monopoly capital that benefits most from stirring up racism, using it to conduct a policy of divide and rule. Racism is the tried instrument of splitting the labour movement. By whipping up racial prejudice the US ruling circles have been able to manipulate public opinion and to pit one ethnic group against another. Racist propaganda skilfully capitalizes on the discontent of many white Americans with their social and economic lot, directing it into the channel of racial hatred.

After the adoption of civil rights legislations it



Negroes auctioned off



\$1200
TO
1250 DOLLARS!
FOR NEGROES!!

THE undersigned wishes to purchase a large lot of NEGROES for the New Orleans market. I will pay \$1200 to \$1250 for No. 1 young men, and \$850 to \$1000 for No. 1 young women. In fact I will pay more for likely

NEGROES,

Than any other trader in Kentucky. My office is adjoining the Broadway Hotel, on Broadway, Lexington, Ky., where I or my Agent can always be found.

WM. F. TALBOTT.

LEXINGTON, JULY 2, 1853.

NEGROES FOR SALE.

I will sell by Public Auction, on Tuesday of next Court, being the 29th of November, *Eight Valuable Family Servants*, consisting of one Negro Man, a first-rate field hand, one No. 1 Boy, 17 years o' age, a trusty house servant, one excellent Cook, one House-Maid, and one Seamstress. The balance are under 12 years of age. They are sold for no fault, but in consequence of my going to reside North. Also a quantity of Household and Kitchen Furniture, Stable Lot, &c. Terms accommodating, and made known on day of sale.

Jacob August.

P. J. TURNBULL, Auctioneer.

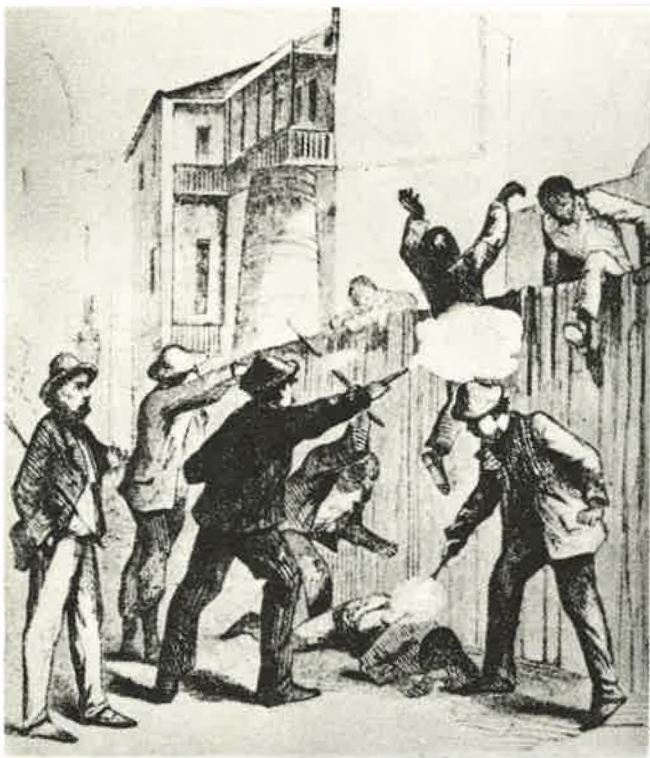
Warrenton, October 28, 1859.

Printed at the News office, Warrenton, North Carolina

"Negroes for sale" ads

"Better die free than live a slave!"





The Voting Rights Act Amendment: the way it worked



"For White Only!" "Coloured Entrance". More than one generation of black Americans lived throughout their lives in the shadow of these signs

THE WHITE HOODS ARE BACK

*They hit me in the head
And knocked me down,
And then they kicked me
On the ground.
A Klansman said, "Nigger,
Look me in the face—
And tell me you believe in
The great white race".*

Langston Hughes

Once a month on weekends shots ring out in the mountains to the north of Birmingham, Alabama. About two or three dozen men in camouflage uniforms practise target shooting with M-16 rifles, crawl under barbed wire fences, and study the tactics of surprise attacks and pursuit of the enemy. All this takes place in one of the "special forces" secret training camps run by the Ku Klux Klan and set up in the late seventies and early eighties. Their commanding officers openly speak of the preparations being made for the coming "racial war" against the Blacks.

The camp is called "My Lai", which was the name of a Vietnamese village whose inhabitants were massacred by US soldiers. "I would gladly kill

Blacks, police or US Army soldiers, because I believe in the white race," says one of the camp trainees, a 24-year-old ex-Marine who calls himself "Tony". There are not only men in the camp. For two days a month Peggy Parsons goes to the mountains together with her husband Tommy leaving behind her six children. "My children are proud of the fact that I'm out here, that I'm in the Klan. They think it's great," she says.

The revival of the Ku Klux Klan is an ominous feature of the social and political situation in the United States in the 1980s. As compared to the late 1970s its membership has increased more than five-fold. The Ku Klux Klan today has over 50,000 members and more than 100,000 sympathizers, and it has branches in at least 20 States. The Klan's goal is to undermine whatever rights and freedoms the Blacks and other minorities have gained.

It would be a comfort to think that the Klan members are aging obscurantists frantically clinging to the past. But that is not the case. Compared to the last few decades the Klan has grown "younger". Today most of its members are in their twenties or early thirties and one-third of them are women. Many Klan leaders can be seen on television wearing business suits. For instance, David Duke, head of the "Knights of the KKK" in Louisiana, is a 29-year-old elegantly dressed college graduate. He calls his group a "white civil rights organization" whose aim is to stop "discrimination against Whites".

At their gatherings, usually held at night, today's "Knights of the KKK", just like their predecessors fifty or a hundred years ago, still wear white hoods, burn crosses and spread racist slogans.

But the methods and the range of activity of the Klan have changed. Today it does not merely

harass and attack Blacks in southern United States. According to the leader of the "Invisible Empire" Klan group Bill Wilkinson "this is not just a racist, nigger-hating organization". Besides Blacks Klansmen's hatred is directed against Hispanic Americans, Indians and immigrants from Indochina.

But of course it is in the South where the persecution of Blacks is most relentless. Provocative actions and demonstrations, terrorist attacks against black activists and black labour leaders, and brutal assaults on the Blacks fighting for their rights are an everyday occurrences in the South. The most violent crime committed by the Ku Klux Klan in the past decades is the murder of five anti-racist demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1979. The murderers were twice acquitted—in November 1979 and in April 1984. The Klan took it as an encouragement for further actions.

The Ku Klux Klan thrives in the North as well. Here its members resort to harassment and violence in order to prevent the desegregation of housing, integrated education and the admittance of Blacks in trade unions. Racist propaganda spread by the Klan is aimed at breeding racial enmity. It sets up local organizations in schools and enterprises, in the army and even in prisons; it calls on the population to take up arms and prepare for a civil or racial war. For the first time since 1925, the Ku Klux Klan marched openly through the streets of Washington in March, 1983.

The Ku Klux Klan spares no effort to get children involved in its activities. It distributes leaflets among secondary school students urging them to join the Klan's Youth Corps. It runs special youth summer camps. At the Klan's summer camp in



In the 19th century Ku Klux Klan "knights" used to hide their faces behind hand-made masks

Jefferson County, Alabama, instructors wrapped in white sheets teach boys and girls aged 10 to 18 the basics of "white supremacy" and how to handle arms. At another camp situated forty-three miles from Houston, Texas, boys are taught to fire a gun and acquire such "necessary practical skills" as hijacking and hunting down Mexican immi-

grants. "Instead of playing baseball or football, they're learning how to survive," Louis Ray Beam, Grand Dragon of the Texas Klan, says proudly.

The well-known black politician Jesse Jackson has said, "What's dangerous now is that the Klan isn't isolated by sheets but is infiltrating many avenues of life wearing suits. Its political power is in its ability to exploit the fears of Whites who are inclined to use black people as scapegoats when things go wrong."



In the 20th century they openly march in the streets of Washington, not far from the White House

The wild outburst of racial violence fills black Americans with deep anxiety. Many of them fear for their lives. According to Benjamin Hooks, who heads the most influential civil rights organization in the United States, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, the black leaders are worried about the fact that a large

number of Blacks believe that they are at war. The discrimination against Blacks is the major but not the only form of racism in today's America.

Stop the invasion of the illegals—such is the message of a pamphlet which carries a photograph of President Reagan on its cover. Thousands of copies of the pamphlet were distributed in all fifty States in early 1985. The pamphlet spews out malice and hatred for the immigrants from Mexico and other Latin American countries, who, according to the authors, are "lepers coming to infect Americans". The publication of the pamphlet marked the beginning of the activities of an organization called "Fundación para el Control de Ilegales", set up about two years ago for the declared purpose of waging armed struggle against Mexican immigrant workers. It is headed by Gordon McDonald, a former high-ranking official of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The pamphlet gives the address of the US Border Patrol in Washington as the address of the organization's headquarters.

Besides black and Hispanic Americans, Asians are also victims of racist persecution. The number of Asians in the United States has increased considerably in the last two decades. As the director of the Asian Pacific Legal Centre, Stewart Kwoh, puts it, "It's come to the point that as long as you 'look' Asian, you're open to attack."

Outbursts of blind hatred towards people of Asian origin can be observed all over the country. More and more anti-Asian graffiti have appeared on the walls of schools and other buildings.

Such hostility surfaced when many Asian Americans began to achieve certain successes in science and other fields owing to their hard work. Anti-Asian sentiments are stirred up by businessmen

who find it hard to compete with imports from Japan and other Asian countries, and by the media skilfully imposing on the audience their racist stereotypes of Asians.

Many American researchers, public organizations and specially appointed commissions have been trying to find the reasons for this outbreak of racial hatred and violence. "We can perhaps best understand racial and ethnic violence not as a fire that has suddenly blazed out of control, but as one that smolders throughout our social structure...

continuously, breaking into open flame periodically," reads the 1983 report of a special commission appointed by the Governor of California to study racial, ethnic and religious violence in the State. The authors of the report conclude that the current wave of racial violence has deep historical roots, that it is "a recurrence of an ugly historical pattern 'nurtured' by prejudice, inflamed by a declining economy and encouraged by political institutions".

"There is new and increasing racism in this country... manifested in the way some now feel they can treat Blacks and minorities," said black Congressman Harold Washington, later elected Mayor of Chicago, at a 1982 Congressional hearing. Militant racism is also fed by the racist attitude of some groups of white Americans. A 1981 report of the oldest black organization, the National Urban League, says that "now racism is becoming legitimized again and there is a direct link between the sophisticates who feel free to make derogatory remarks about Blacks and other racial groups and the primitives who kill and terrorize. They are only separated by the degree of their activity".



Marching in broad daylight along the main street of Houston, Texas



One of the Ku Klux Klan training camps



Bill Russell, leader of neo-Nazis in Detroit



Young bigots in a Ku Klux Klan summer training camp



"White power—victory for the White"—the slogan of Klansmen marching behind police shields



Police clubs and open protection of the authorities save racists from people's wrath



"People need jobs, not racism!"—a slogan of the demonstrators against racist terror

Lady's shoes under a white cloak? No wonder—one-third of the Klan members are women



OVERSTEPPING THE LIMITS

*Freedom
Is a strong seed
Planted
In a great need
I live here, too.
I want freedom
Just as you.*

Langston Hughes

One Sunday morning, June 8, 1983, at about nine o'clock three shots were fired in one of the buildings in the Hispanic section of Chicago. These shots still echo in the hearts of the city's half a million Hispanic residents. The racists' bullets ended the life of their young promising leader.

Rudi Lozano was born in 1951 into a large worker's family of Mexican origin. He grew up in a poor Hispanic neighbourhood in Chicago, and from childhood had experienced humiliation and ill treatment which is the lot of all poor oppressed people. Very early Lozano showed the makings of a political leader. When at school, he headed a campaign to improve the quality of education and end discrimination against Hispanic students. During his college years he became an active participant in the struggle to improve the life of his people. The



Eddie Carthan, Mayor of the town of Tchula, behind bars

long-term objective set by the young leader was to put an end to the arbitrary actions of employers by uniting the oppressed and downtrodden Mexican workers.

Lozano was one of the founders of the *Fraternidad General de Trabajadores* (General Fraternity of the Working People), an organization that defends the rights of Mexican immigrant workers. In

the course of the struggle Lozano became familiar with the problems facing all American workers. He was increasingly aware of the need to unite workers of all races. In 1979, he became an organizer of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. "He had an ability to bring in the community that no one else I know has," recalls Lou Montenegro, a leader of the Chicago branch of the Union. The local employers quickly sensed danger in that young labour union leader whose popularity was growing. Lozano received many threats on his life.



Rudi Lozano shared the fate of many American labour leaders—he was killed by a hired assassin

Undeterred, Lozano carried on the struggle. His next step was the establishment in the western part of Chicago of the Independent Political Party uniting Americans of Mexican origin, Puerto Ricans and Blacks; its task was to seek the election of progressive candidates to local municipal bodies. Lozano was one of the main organizers of the election campaign of the progressive black candidate Harold Washington who won the election and became Chicago's Mayor in the spring of

1983. Lozano also participated in the anti-war movement—he was elected to the board of the US Peace Council, and he headed the Chicago preparatory committee for the peace march to Washington which took place on August 27, 1983, under the motto "Peace, Freedom and Social Justice". Lozano was becoming one of the recognized leaders of Hispanic Americans. But the shots fired from a hired gun put an end to his career.

Although the authorities did not hasten to hold an inquiry into the matter, the political motives of the assassination were obvious. The police came up with the usual version of "a lone assassin". One month following the murder, the police arrested a Gregory Escobar, an eighteen-year-old drug addict and hit man of a Chicago youth gang. He was convicted and sentenced to forty years' imprisonment.

In his written testimony, however, Escobar said he shot Lozano with a gun owned by a F. Olvera, who is notorious for his Mafia connections, and that Olvera had promised to pay Escobar five thousand dollars for killing Lozano. Olvera is still at large. And so is also F. Stemberck, Lozano's opponent in the elections to the city council held shortly before Lozano was assassinated, even though there is evidence that the "contract" for Lozano's murder was signed in his office. The police as well as the FBI also have the testimony of two witnesses who independently of each other stated that Lozano's murder had been planned by businessmen and labour bosses with Mafia connections who feared that Lozano's political and labour union activities would hurt their interests.

The authorities ignore all evidence indicating that the assassination of Lozano was a plot to remove an undesirable political leader. They refuse

to consider the evidence which contradicts the official version. And there is plenty of such evidence. The authorities' refusal to investigate the real circumstances of Lozano's killing has been described by the progressive National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression as a part of the racist onslaught against workers, black and Hispanic leaders and progressive forces in general. The question of who guided the murderer's hand remains unanswered.

A young black activist, Leonard Brown, used to register black voters in the Mississippi County of Water Valley. Local racists reacted by brutally murdering him: on July 27, 1983, Brown's body was found riddled with bullets. As in the case of Rudi Lozano, the local authorities did not lift a finger to find the criminals. The local sheriff flatly refused to go to the scene of the crime.

Leaders of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression meet in session. Angela Davis, the courageous daughter of the black people, is the Alliance's co-chairman



What happened to Rudi Lozano and Leonard Brown is not something exceptional in the United States today where the authorities are waging an active campaign aimed at preventing the minorities from exercising their civil rights and denying them political representation.

The racists refuse to accept the achievements of the Blacks and Hispanic Americans in the civil rights field in the last decade. They would like to prevent more black and Hispanic Americans from holding various elective offices; they try to intimidate elected minority representatives and deprive them of the opportunity to protect their people's interests.

The influential black newspaper *Washington Afro-American* notes that a deliberate campaign is under way to discredit the elected minority representatives whose views run counter to the policy of the Reagan Administration.

The campaign of persecution of elected minority representatives has been waged at the federal government's level, by state authorities and local administration. Among its targets are black Congressman Ronald Dellums who is highly critical of the Administration's foreign policy, and the black Mayors of Detroit, Washington, Chicago and other cities. Jesse Jackson, a popular black leader who ran for the Presidency in 1984, was also subjected to racist persecution. Jackson's successful election campaign (he got 22 per cent of the votes at Democratic primaries) and the fact that he put forward an alternative to the reactionary domestic and militaristic foreign policies of the Republican Administration alarmed the political Establishment which did its best to distort the election platform of the black presidential candidate with the help of

the media and prevent him from getting more support of the people.

Legal bodies are also widely used to discredit elected minority representatives.

The only "crime" of Eddie Carthan, Mayor of the small Mississippi town of Tchula, was his desire to provide Blacks with employment and to improve their living conditions. The white Establishment of that town, where 80 per cent of the population are Blacks, had long wanted to punish the troublesome Mayor. False rumours about him were spread in town, his salary was reduced to the ridiculous sum of sixty dollars a month, and he was accused of countless wrongdoings. Finally, in the spring of 1981, a false charge of assaulting a police officer was brought against Carthan and six municipal officials. A year later, Carthan and his brother were charged with... murder and robbery, committed in June, 1981, for which the real murderers were arrested and convicted. It was only thanks to strong community protests that the black Mayor and his colleagues were not put on trial.

A veteran civil rights worker from Selma, Alabama, Albert Turner, his wife Evelyne, and Spencer Hogue, also a civil rights fighter, had helped many poor and elderly Blacks register as voters and at the polls. But their active support of Jesse Jackson's 1984 election campaign aroused strong resentment on the part of the local authorities. They accused the black activists of counterfeiting signatures in the ballot-papers. This is an old trick of racists in constituencies where ethnic minorities make up a considerable part of the population. Similar charges were brought against five black activists in Birmingham, Alabama, who campaigned for the broader participation of Blacks in the 1984 elections.

"Now, when we've begun to learn to use our voting rights, Whites are doing everything to put us behind bars," said Albert Turner.

The story of Albert Turner and Edward Carthan, the tragic death of Rudi Lozano and Leonard Brown prove that Blacks and other coloured Americans have still a long way to go before they achieve real, and not formally declared, political equality.

LINKS OF ONE CHAIN

*Can't you forgive Tee Kendricks?
He is a southerner, a tough cookie.
And he is a police rookie—
He saw a running nigger—
And quickly pulled the trigger.*

Sterling Brown

One evening in March, 1983, a five-year-old black boy Patrick Mason from Stanton, California, went out to play on the porch. And right there in front of his house he was shot to death by a policeman. The policeman later claimed that he fired at a person who was allegedly aiming a gun at him. That same day in Florida an unarmed twenty-one-year-old black youth, Donald Harp, was shot and killed by a white policeman in the centre of a black neighbourhood.

The number of innocent victims of racist violence is steadily growing. Police brutality and violence are an everyday reality for the millions of inhabitants of black, Mexican and Puerto Rican ghettos and Indian reservations. Here the police act like invaders in an occupied territory—they stop and search people without a warrant, round up large numbers of people without apparent cause and open fire at unarmed people. Where brutality



Policemen in Harlem act like invaders in an occupied territory

to coloured people is concerned the police enjoy total impunity bordering on encouragement. It is not by chance that from 45 to 55 per cent of all victims of the police are Blacks. The International Commission of Jurists which visited the United States in 1979 pointed out in its report that the overwhelming majority of black victims of police terror had been unarmed.

"... Hundreds of Blacks and other minorities are killed by the police every year and their killers know that they can continue to maim, cripple and kill minorities without any expectation of judicial reprimand or punishment because they operate behind the protective shield of racism," said the report prepared in 1980 by the prominent black lawyer Lennox Hinds for the 6th Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, which was sponsored by the United Nations.

On September 28, 1982 thirty-six-year-old William Lee Drumgoul died in the city prison of Richmond, Virginia. The coroner's report said that the death was caused by "beating and choking", but none of the four policemen who took part in the assault was prosecuted.

On January 19, 1983, Riley Frost, a Black, died in the city prison of Seattle after policemen had tied a rubber-hose around his neck to make it "easier" to take his finger-prints. For twenty-three minutes Frost lay on the floor unconscious with his face down, hand-cuffed and his legs strapped. Not one of the prison guards present in the room tried to help him.

Butchers ready for action...



On September 15, 1983, a young black New Yorker Michael Stewart was found drawing something on a subway wall with spray paint. That is no big crime since all New York subway cars and walls are covered with graffiti. Eleven policemen surrounded the black youth and beat him so savagely that he died two weeks later. The policemen were put on trial. Prosecutors disclosed in court papers that transit police tortured "a prone and defenseless" Stewart by smashing his head into the sidewalk and clubbing and choking him with nightsticks. However, despite the irrefutable evidence, at the end of 1985 a white jury acquitted the murderers.

On June 13, 1985, New York policemen shot a seventeen-year-old black youth Edmund Perry, well known in his neighbourhood as an excellent student at school who had won many awards and prizes. But in the eyes of police officer Lee van Houten, who had mortally wounded Perry, every black youth is a criminal.

These are not isolated facts. As Albert Shankey, an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, has pointed out, "These things continue to happen because these white cops know that nothing will happen to them. They know that no white police officer will be convicted for shooting a black person. They'll in fact get a promotion."

Less than one per cent of police officers who have used firearms without good reason or have deliberately killed an innocent black person have been prosecuted. The report of the International Commission of Jurists pointed out that the aim of the judicial system was to acquit the police if they resorted to violence or even committed murders

when dealing with minorities. Very few police officers were subjected to penalties by their superiors or faced criminal charges, but even on such rare occasions the actions of police officers were presented as "self-defense". Tortures at police precincts were described as "interrogations", and the statements made under torture were considered not as forced but as quite lawful "confessions".

The murderers in police uniforms have many ways of covering up their crimes and making their victim appear a criminal. To make it look like "self-defense" they would put a gun in the dead man's hand or under his clothes. In order to escape prosecution, policemen often resort to false accusations, perjury and fabrication of evidence.

As in the days of chain gangs



On August 6, 1983, in Charlotte, North Carolina, the police arrived at a store which had just been robbed and began beating Morris Kendall, a black youth who happened to be there and who, according to eyewitnesses, had nothing to do with the robbery. As a result of the beating, Kendall had several broken ribs, a crushed elbow and bruises and wounds on the head. And though the real robber turned himself in, Kendall was arrested and charged with resisting arrest.

"Police violence and killing of Blacks is increasing because of racism, poor police training and refusal of federal authorities to prosecute officers," said a special report of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People published in the summer of 1983. Thomas Atkins, chief legal adviser of the Association, notes that "policemen feel they have the authority to execute street justice: they make a determination a person is guilty and needs to be punished. And sometimes the punishment results in death."

The tragedy that occurred in Philadelphia in May 1985, in which at least eleven people died including four children, is clear evidence of the US authorities' disregard of the black citizens' right to life. A bomb was dropped on the house where members of a black sect lived. The firemen were deliberately slow in putting out the fire caused by the blast.

The tragic events in Philadelphia shook the world. The city which claims to be the "cradle of American democracy", where the Declaration of Independence was adopted, became the scene of massacre of innocent black people. The fire raged for six hours. As a result, eleven people were burnt alive, 60 houses were razed to the ground, and hundreds were left homeless.

What caused the police and the authorities of the "city of brotherly love" to commit such an act of brutality? How could it have taken place? One should look for an answer to those questions in the general atmosphere of racism prevailing in the United States in recent years. The freedom enjoyed by racist organizations and their propaganda, the rampant racist terror, the impunity of murderers in police uniforms—these are all links of one chain.



Her son fell victim to police violence (William Hargress's mother)



Philadelphia in May 1985. Osage Avenue on fire

Houses on fire





"Stop racist attacks!"—demand demonstrators in Miami, Florida

APARTHEID AMERICAN STYLE

*It is only natural that we should look and look
At their wood and brick and stone
And think, while a breath of pine blows,
How different these are from our own.*

Gwendolyn Brooks

Two decades have passed since the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, set up by Lyndon B. Johnson following the "hot summer" of 1967, came to the conclusion that American society was divided into two parts—a black one and a white one. Only a small group of middle- and upper-class black citizens benefitted from what had been achieved by the civil rights movement and broke through the invisible wall that separated the two societies. As for the majority of Blacks and other coloured Americans, their lives have continued to be affected by racism.

A black child born in the United States in the 1980s is twice more likely to die before he is one year old as compared to a white child; he is twice more likely to die of a heart disease before he reaches the age of four; and five times more likely to contract tuberculosis in his childhood. A black person is twice more likely to have anemia due to iron deficiency, arthritis, diabetes, high blood pressure, and other serious chronic diseases, and is



The black ghetto of Detroit

two and a half times more likely to die at the age of 25-44. And his life span will be seven years shorter than that of his white fellow-citizens.

From his childhood his world is confined within the invisible walls of the black ghetto. Despite laws and court decisions prohibiting racial segregation in housing, during the last two decades the division of America into urban centres inhabited by members of ethnic minorities and prosperous "white" suburbs has become deeper than ever. Eighty-eight per cent of Philadelphia's black population live in districts inhabited by Blacks only, while 92 per cent of the city's Whites live in "white" residential districts. A similar situation exists throughout the country.

How does American apartheid work? The Department of Housing and Urban Development estimates that annually over two million Blacks and Hispanics are denied the right to buy or rent apartments and houses only because of their origin.

Open discrimination in the selling and renting of homes is only one aspect of the matter. Even more widely practised are hidden forms of discrimination. These include unwritten agreements between construction firms, real estate agents and financial institutions aimed at preventing the sale of homes to "undesirable persons".

The many-thousand-strong army of real estate agents resort to the most devious means in order to achieve that aim.



An anti-racist march in Richmond, Virginia

Several years ago a black resident of Chicago decided to buy a house in the suburbs. But each time he went to the real estate office he found the

door locked. On a number of occasions the black man saw real estate agents rush out of the office, slam the door, get into their cars and drive away. Then he asked a liberal organization in the city for help. A white official of the organization made an appointment with a real estate dealer. The latter carefully locked the door before sitting down to talk to him. At that moment there was a knock on the door. "We're closed today!" the dealer shouted without opening. But eventually he had to open the door. "I'm nothing more than a grounds keeper and have nothing to do with the selling of the homes," he quickly told the black visitors and turned them away.

Such methods are used in order to prevent the integration of housing. And when they fail, threats and violence are resorted to. A black person would need a lot of courage to move into a "white" neighbourhood. In 1984, the US Department of Justice registered 47 cases of violent attacks on Blacks who had moved into "white" districts; in 1985 there were 61 such cases.

Through open discrimination, deception and outright violence white America is trying to preserve an ugly by-product of capitalist exploitation—the ghetto. Today the black ghetto is a site of burned-down buildings, gaping windows of abandoned houses, and patches of wasteland with broken glass scattered around. And behind this scene of desolation are ruined lives, chronic unemployment and poverty with their attendant social vices—alcoholism, drug addiction, prostitution, and crime. Those who were born here find themselves caught in the vicious circle of poverty and privation and are often unable to break out of it for the rest of their lives.

From overcrowded tenement houses in the black

ghettos their young residents come to their schools. More than three decades ago the Supreme Court of the United States adopted a historic decision declaring segregated education unconstitutional. In reality, however, the majority of black students are still up against the system of segregated education which is a product of both segregated housing and the school authorities' discriminatory practices.

In 1970, fifty-two per cent of black children attended segregated schools where over 50 per cent of all students belonged to ethnic minorities; in the early 1980s the figure for black children rose to 63 per cent. In the south thirty-three per cent of black children attend schools where nearly all students (90-100 per cent) belong to ethnic minorities; in the north-east the share of such students is 49 per cent.

Segregated education is always "second-rate" education. Everything in these schools—from the school building itself, playground and textbooks to teachers, who are at best indifferent to the future of their students—constantly reminds the black child that society values him much less than the white child. The quality of education in ghetto schools is considerably lower than in schools situated in white residential districts or suburbs. Every year a large number of black students fall behind their white counterparts. And this reduces their chance of finding a job after finishing school as compared to white students.

A recent nationwide literacy survey of the adult population of the United States shows that 44 per cent of black and 56 per cent of Hispanic Americans are "practically illiterate"; in other words, they lack elementary skills in reading and doing sums, which effectively cuts them off from the

outside world. They can hardly read newspaper ads, do not know how to fill job applications or welfare forms, etc.

In the employment sphere the traditional racist practice still prevails, which means that Blacks and other coloured Americans are the last to be hired and the first to be fired. The gap between the unemployment rates among Blacks and Whites remains considerable both during economic recessions and periods of economic upturns.

The 1980s are no exception in this respect. During the slump of 1981-1982 Blacks and other coloured Americans were the hardest hit. Unemployment among Blacks grew from 12.3 to 20.6 per cent, as compared to the rise from 5.8 to 11.2 per cent among Whites. Although the economy started to recover the employment level among Blacks and Hispanic Americans remained low. Thus, unemployment among Blacks went down to only 15.1 per cent by 1986, while unemployment among Whites dropped to 5.9 per cent.

They have long abandoned all hope of finding a job





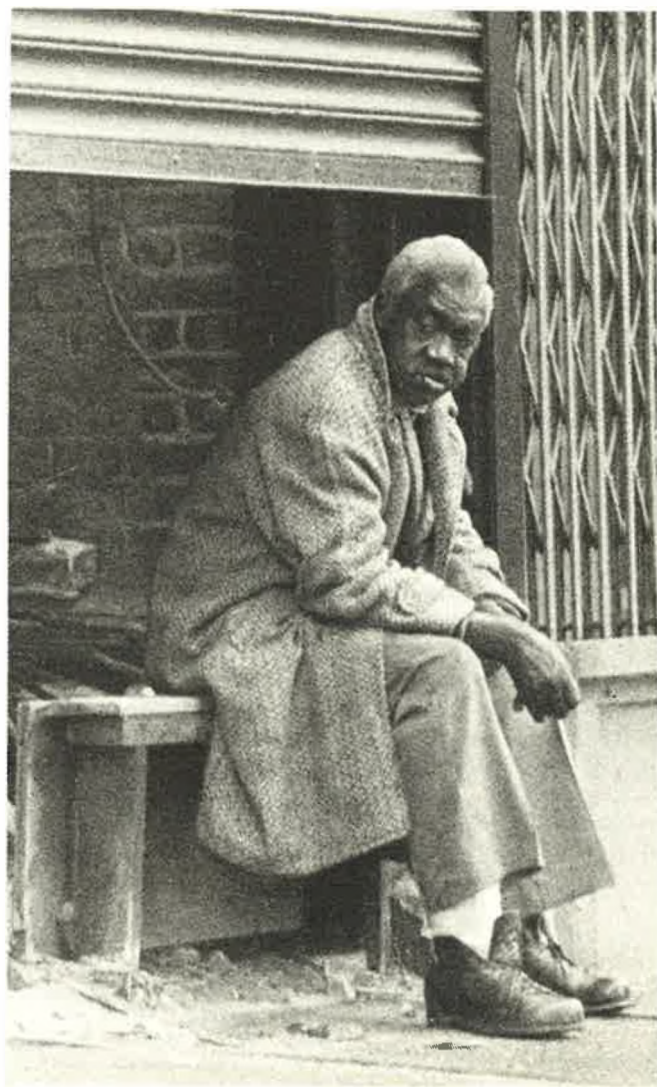
Indians (mother and son) in their cabin

The street is his home

The level of unemployment among black youths is particularly high. During the economic recession of 1981-1982, 50.7 per cent of young black Americans lost their jobs. By 1986, 41.9 per cent of young Blacks were still jobless.

Official figures on black unemployment fail to include the large army of ghetto lumpen proletariat who have long abandoned all hope of employment and live in complete isolation from the rest of society. Whereas in 1960 about 75 per cent of able-bodied black males were in the nation's workforce, in the first half of the 1980s the figure dropped to a mere 54 per cent.

In recent years many American corporations have been moving their plants from urban centres to suburbs; there new plants and factories have



been built, which means that new job opportunities have been created. But the American version of scientific and technological progress also has racist overtones. The automation of production and the decreasing share of unskilled labour are steadily undermining the economic position of thousands of coloured Americans.

Even those who were lucky to have a job must contend with the segregated system of employment. Black Americans account for one-fifth of all unskilled industrial workers and for over a half of those employed as household servants; there are less than 3 per cent of them among engineers, lawyers, doctors or dentists, and less than 4 per cent among managers or executives. Black and coloured workers are usually employed in industries with the highest unemployment level; within one industry they work at enterprises where wages are the lowest and where they are given the unskilled and lowest-paid jobs.

Widespread discrimination results in a substantial gap between the income of white and coloured Americans. In recent years certain official bodies and newspapers have launched a campaign aimed at creating the impression that there is no longer an income gap between Whites and Blacks. However, despite all the talk about the "giant progress" made by ethnic minorities, the average income of a black family today remains on the same level as a quarter of a century ago, or 55 per cent of the average income of a white family. Figures for the average family income in the United States, however, do not give a true picture of the enormous economic gap between black and white America. A report published in the summer of 1986 by the US Bureau of the Census shows that the net property value of an average white American family

The Indians have the lowest income, the highest rate of unemployment, and the shortest life span



is 12 times as high as the property value of an average black family, and 8 times as high as that of a Hispanic family.

By the mid-1980s the share of black and Hispanic Americans whose income was below the official poverty line reached a record 36 and 30 per cent respectively (it should be noted that on a national scale the poor account for slightly more than 14 per cent of the population). Sixty-two per cent of all "chronically" poor in the United States are Blacks. Almost one half of all black children grow up in poverty.

The reservation Rosebud of the Sioux tribe in South Dakota covers an area of 1,200 square miles and is rich with water and other natural resources. However, its 10,000 residents lead a miserable existence. The nearest town is 60 miles away, but there is no public transport, let alone telephone communication. Along dusty streets stand run-down houses with crooked windows and doors that cannot protect their numerous inhabitants either from summer heat or from winter cold (usually no less than 15 persons live in a two-bedroom house).

Those who live on the reservation are 10 times more likely to die before reaching the age of 45 than the Whites. Child mortality rate here is twice the nation's average, and unemployment stands at 80 per cent. Seventy per cent of the residents suffer from alcoholism. In recent years many studies have been carried out in the United States to find out why alcoholism is so widespread among the Indian population. But the answer is to be found in the streets of the Rosebud reservation—unemployment, extreme poverty, and inevitable despair.

other Indian reservations. In the main reservation of the Papago tribe with a population of 13,000 the only hospital (with 10 beds) was burnt down several years ago. The nearest doctor is in the village of Sells, situated far away from the reservation, and there are no transport links between them. In the reservation of the oldest tribe Hopi there is just one hospital and there has never been a secondary school. Like other reservations it is completely isolated from the outside world. On the territory of the Navajo reservation there are about 350 abandoned uranium mines and no safety measures have been taken to prevent contamination of drinking water. No one knows for sure how many families run the daily risk of being exposed to radiation.

Those who were born in ghettos and those who were born in white suburbs are formally equal before the law; they have equal voting rights. The 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act have helped remove formal as well as many real obstacles blocking the way to the polls for Blacks and other non-white Americans. But there remain many discriminatory barriers which prevent Blacks and other coloured Americans from being fully integrated into the country's political life and deprive them of proportional representation in government bodies.

Subtle methods are often used to deprive minorities of their voting rights or to infringe these rights. For example, the registration of voters usually takes place on week days and during busy working hours; this creates problems for non-white Americans since the overwhelming majority of them work for hire. Elections to various government bodies are often held in constituencies far away from each other, which turns out to be an

insurmountable obstacle for many Blacks and coloured Americans who do not own a car or cannot afford public transport fare. Such covert discriminatory practices often prove to be no less effective than open discrimination. Thus, out of 17 million black citizens eligible to vote there are only twelve million registered voters.

There are many ways of denying ethnic minorities representation in government bodies. Gerrymandering makes it possible to divide regions with high concentrations of Americans of African, Latin American and Indian origin into different electoral districts giving them no chance to elect their political representatives.

Black Americans, who make up 12 per cent of the US population, hold only 1.5 per cent of all elective posts in the country. In the southern states where 26 per cent of the population are Blacks, they hold only 5 per cent of all elective posts. Out of 101 constituencies in the south where the majority of the population are Blacks only in six they are widely represented in elective bodies. Proportional representation remains an unattainable goal for Hispanic Americans. In terms of their number they should occupy from 12 to 36 per cent of the seats in government bodies in the south-western States, but actually their share is only 5.5 to 15.2 per cent.

The *U. S. News and World Report* weekly quotes American politologist Lucius Barker as saying that "minorities have the right to vote but the effect is being diluted".

For those who were not born white, equality before the law is a myth which is dispelled every time they have to deal with judicial or police authorities. American justice is openly racist in its nature. It allows Ku Klux Klan killers to walk freely

about, while it keeps hundreds of thousands of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Indians and Asian Americans in prison for years and even decades on minor, unproved or trumped up charges.

According to US figures Blacks, Hispanic Americans and Indians are much more likely to be arrested or prosecuted and get much heavier sentences for the same crimes than their white fellow-citizens. It is not accidental that more than half of those sentenced to death or life imprisonment are Blacks.

Justice in America is widely used to suppress the civil rights movement. The report *Biased Justice* published in the United States in the early 1980s accuses the US government of using force to establish control over the activities of ethnic minorities and suppress their opposition to the racist ideology of the Whites.

How else can one explain the brutal sentences handed down to many fighters for racial equality?

John Harris—death penalty and five terms of life imprisonment;

Leonard Peltier—two terms of life imprisonment;

Barbette Williams—150 years' imprisonment;

Oscar Johnson—148 years' imprisonment;

Sundiata Acoli—life imprisonment plus 30 years;

Assata Shakur—life imprisonment plus 33 years.

The list of victims of racism may be continued.

"Blacks, Puerto Ricans, native Americans, Mexican-Americans, and other minorities," wrote an American anti-racist activist and prominent black lawyer Lennox Hinds, "are victims of deliberate governmental policies and practices that deny them basic human rights and abridge fundamental freedoms solely on the basis of race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin."

REVERSING THE COURSE OF HISTORY

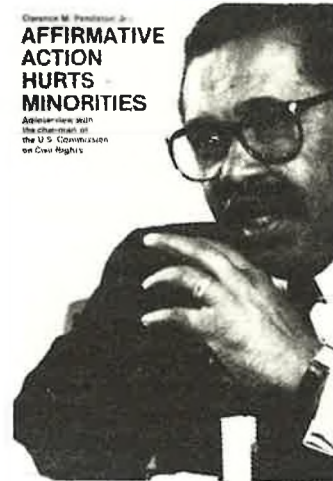
Our mutual aim should be the coming of the day when no action in our country would be taken because of differences between us or despite these differences—ethnic differences or racial differences, whichever they were. Then we'll have an absolute equality of opportunity for all the citizens.

Ronald Reagan, in the TV debates with Jimmy Carter, 1980

In October 1983, an employee of the Civil Rights Division of the US Department of Justice Timothy Cook submitted his resignation. In taking this step he was not tempted by offers of a higher-paid job in the private sector as it often happens with government employees. The reason was quite different—as an experienced lawyer who devoted over ten years of his career to defending victims of racial discrimination, Cook could not remain silent when the laws prohibiting discrimination were being reduced to naught. He points out that Americans subjected to discrimination can no longer find protection from their government: ethnic minorities are treated today as the country's enemies.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION HURTS MINORITIES

Advertisement with the chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights



Clarence M. Pendleton, Chairman of the US Civil Rights Commission, says that Affirmative Action Programmes hurt minorities

Pursuing a policy of state terrorism in the international arena, openly supporting dictatorships, and cooperating with the apartheid regime in South Africa, the Reagan Administration has been making an assault on civil rights and the socio-economic gains of the minorities at home. As J. Lowery, Head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference founded by Martin Luther King, has noted, the election of Reagan as president has let the racist dogs loose and forebodes the country's negative approach to civil rights and justice.

The past six years have confirmed the worst fears of the Blacks and other coloured Americans.

When the Reagan Administration came to power it proclaimed the coming of an age of "liberation" for the Blacks and other coloured minorities. It turned out that this time they were freed from their "dependence" on the federal government and from

state help. According to the hypocritical rhetoric of the present US leaders, the ethnic minorities have fallen victim to a "new form of dependency", the dependency on "Big government", and could only be saved by the revival of free enterprise. "The government can't be the vehicle of minority progress," President Reagan has repeatedly stated.

"Liberating" Blacks and other ethnic minorities from the protection of the state began on the first day the Reagan Administration came to office. It proceeded with the systematic dissolution of those governmental bodies that had been established under the pressure of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, and discontinued the socio-economic programmes designed to ensure compliance with anti-discriminatory laws and to help overcome the grave legacy of racial discrimination. The "Reagan team" set itself the aim of diluting the civil rights

legislation, limiting its sphere of application, impeding the work of the authorities that were to enforce the legislation, and making the courts annul the anti-discriminatory decisions they had taken in the last fifteen years. A campaign was launched against such major achievements of the civil rights movement as the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Reagan has ordered drastic cuts in the budgets of the departments set up to fight discrimination. Persons known for their conservative views were appointed heads of many such departments.

The Reagan Administration was uncooperative with regard to every concrete measure aimed at desegregating the school. It was also uncooperative with regard to the programmes to fight discrimination in the sphere of employment and higher education. The main target of its attacks were the Affirmative Action Programmes which envisaged certain benefits for the victims of racial discrimination when applying for a job or for admission to a higher education institution. The ultimate goal of the Administration is to make the Supreme Court of the United States declare that granting benefits to the victims of discrimination is unconstitutional.

For about fifteen years the Civil Rights Division of the US Department of Justice had played a positive role in the fight against racial discrimination. Under the Reagan Administration it was deliberately isolated from the struggle for civil rights. Now, instead of defending the victims of discrimination, its employees are busy trying to reverse earlier court decisions on cases related to the Affirmative Action Programmes, for instance, the bussing of schoolchildren to achieve desegregation. Hundreds of Affirmative Action Programmes

Black and white demonstrators carry the slogan—"Stop Reaganism!"



throughout the country have come under the scrutiny of the Department of Justice which detects in them "violation of the rights of Whites". William Reynolds, whom Reagan appointed head of the Civil Rights Division, believes that it is his job to review existing court decisions on cases of discrimination in the sphere of employment and to cancel anti-discriminatory measures "unacceptable" to the Administration.

When in 1985 Edward Meese was appointed Attorney General it became quite clear for those working in the Department of Justice that the fight against discrimination in the sphere of employment and higher education was over.

The activities of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which for almost two decades had played a leading role in the fight against discrimination in the sphere of employment, was deliberately scaled down. Today it merely provides defense in some of the most flagrant cases of racial discrimination, and is no longer engaged in the fight against discrimination widely practised by certain companies and whole industries. The Commission is undertaking a review of the directives it has previously adopted with a view to weakening the anti-discriminatory provisions or dropping them altogether.

The US Civil Rights Commission, which had for many years helped to expose racist practices in all spheres of life, was turned into an obedient servant of the Administration. The head of the National Urban League John Jacob has called the US Civil Rights Commission with its present composition an "Anti-Civil Rights Commission".

The Administration's policy of undermining the fight against discrimination was soon reflected in court rulings. The decisions of the US Supreme

Court in "The City of Memphis Against Green" case (1981) and the "American Tobacco Company Against Patterson" case (1982) had an ominous ring. In its decisions the Supreme Court formulated the doctrine of "intentional discrimination". According to the doctrine any discriminatory programme or practice can be defined by the court as such only if it is proved that it was introduced with a clear intent to discriminate. However, it is almost impossible to provide evidence of the intent to practise discrimination. Thus, the racists were given a free hand to deal with Blacks and other minorities as they pleased.

Under Reagan the assault on the rights of Indians launched in previous years has been stepped up. Discarding the demagoguery of his predecessors Reagan openly speaks in favour of taking away from Indians their remaining territories. The position of the White House encourages the corporations ruthlessly to exploit the natural resources of the lands which still belong to the Indians.

The US Congress has also been making persistent attempts to deprive the Indians of their lands once and for all. Bills have been submitted to the Congress in recent years whose purpose is to legalize *ex post facto* the plundering of the Indians' lands and resources and nullify all claims by the Indian tribes in connection with it. The Administration readily supports such bills, declaring that the government does not have "constitutional commitments" with respect to the lands of the aborigines.

By revising budgetary priorities—reducing allocations for social needs and channelling resources into the military sector—the Reagan Administration has delivered a heavy blow at Blacks and other coloured Americans. The drastic cuts in appropria-

tions for programmes designed to help low-income citizens cope with difficulties arising from unemployment and poverty brought new hardships to the millions of coloured Americans. The period from 1982 to 1985 saw a 7-per-cent reduction in unemployment benefits, a 35-per-cent reduction in employment and professional training programmes, and a 99-per-cent reduction in programmes for creating jobs in the public sector. Assistance to large families and the subsidies to the poor for purchasing food products (food stamps) were cut by 13 per cent; food subsidies for children from poor families were reduced by 28 per cent. Allocations for medical care were slashed by 32 per cent, while assistance to students from poor families was decreased by 17 per cent. Substantial cuts were also made in housing programmes, public transport, care for the aged, etc.

The 1984 report of the National Urban League indicates that the Reagan Administration is regarded by the black Americans as the most hostile to them in the last 50 years.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will be judged not by the colour of their skins but by the content of their character.

Martin Luther King

In mid-September, 1984, a court in Atlanta, Georgia, heard a case that caught the attention of the nation. It was not a case of sensational robbery or murder or scandalous divorce which the American media is so avid for. It was one of those routine cases of libel that flood American courts. The plaintiff was a well-known American physicist, Professor William Shockeley of Stanford University, and the defendant was a former editor of the Atlanta newspaper *Constitution* Roger Witherperson, a black journalist. Having long left research work, Shockeley had for some years been devoting his energy to publicizing the "voluntary sterilization bonus plan" which was intended for persons with a low IQ. Enraged by an article published by Witherperson in which the author compared the plan to Nazi ideas, Shockeley sued him for 1.25 million dollars.

At the trial held by the Atlanta court it was in fact the latest theories of "racial inferiority", so ardently advocated by William Shockeley, that were put in the dock.

In an attempt to justify the continued existence of racial inequality and oppression in the United States bourgeois scholars have been trying hard in the past years to update the well-worn concepts of "racial inferiority". To substantiate their theories they take the results of IQ tests in schools which ignore the social status of children belonging to different racial and social groups. Clearly, poverty, a low educational level of many black, Mexican and Indian parents, and the general environment of the ghettos and Indian reservations have a negative influence on the children, on their intellectual development and performance at school. Often children from well-to-do families have a higher IQ. But this does not prove that there is an inborn "intellectual superiority" of the Whites over coloured Americans.

By manipulating the results of these tests certain American scientists draw exactly those conclusions. For many years now Arthur Yensen, a professor of California University at Berkley, has been actively advocating the "concept" that from 60 to 80 per cent of the results of IQ tests depend on hereditary factors. William Shockeley, referring to the results of IQ tests among the black population of Georgia and California, claims that the greater the share of "white" blood in a person the higher is his IQ. He has even produced a formula which is supposed to prove that each additional per cent of "white" blood raises a person's IQ. In his numerous publications Shockeley calls for an improvement of the "black stock" with the help of eugenics. And since it will take a lot of time before

the results of such an "improvement" starts showing up he suggests, as a first step, the "voluntary sterilization" of "feeble-minded" Blacks and other coloured Americans.

The attempts to use IQ tests to substantiate the theory of "racial inferiority" are not new. Intelligence tests were first conducted in 1912 among immigrants arriving to the Ellis Island. Those tests showed that 83 per cent of Jewish, 80 per cent of Hungarian, 79 per cent of Italian and 87 per cent of Russian immigrants were "feeble-minded". This information was used by reactionary circles which in 1924 succeeded in passing the Immigration Act restricting immigration from Eastern Europe.

Today there is hardly anyone in the United States who would seriously doubt the intelligence of Jews or people of East European origin. But the latter-day apologists of the "racial inferiority" theory are not fazed by the results of numerous scientific studies which show the inherent inadequacies of the standard IQ tests.

Witherperson's lawyers had no doubt used all available scientific evidence to prove the groundlessness of the concept of "racial inferiority" which is the basis of Shockey's "voluntary sterilization bonus plan", and shown its kinship with the racist policy pursued by Hitlerite Germany. Nevertheless, the court decided in Shockey's favour, declaring him a victim of libel. The judge had enough sense of humour to rule that Shockey should be paid the symbolic sum of one dollar for damage to his reputation.

How can it be explained that the discredited and scientifically bankrupt theory of the "superiority" of the white race still has its followers in today's technocratic America? Theories of racial superiority which emerged in the first half of the 19th century,



The dream of modern racist scientists

with its growing abolitionist movement that called for an end to slavery, were designed to justify the existence of that shameful institution. At the end of the 19th century, against the background of mass inflow of immigrants into the United States from Eastern and Southern Europe, the previously vague ideas about an "Anglo-Saxon nation" merged with anti-black and anti-Asian racism to form a full-fledged racist doctrine of Anglo-Saxon superiority. Immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe and Asia coming to the United States and the formally

free black Americans were declared "inferior races", contacts with which endangered American institutions and culture. And since the influx of new immigrants could not be stopped, they must be made to fit the "Anglo-Saxon pattern", while black Americans must be separated from Whites by an invisible wall of racial segregation and discrimination. The theory of racial superiority of Whites provided the ideological basis for the long-practised segregation in education and in all other spheres of life.

Official recognition of the equality of Blacks and other coloured Americans won by the civil rights movement undermined the openly racist concepts. However, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when civil rights activists started insisting on the "equality of results", in other words, on the **actual equality in socio-economic and political life**, bourgeois scientists spared no effort in looking for fresh ideas to justify the existing inequality of the minorities and the ruling circles' refusal to take practical steps to overcome the grave legacy of slavery, racial discrimination and segregation.

The theories of Shockley and Yensen have their supporters among conservative academic circles; and they are used by the reactionary wing of the ruling class in the United States. Referring to these theories the opponents of integrated education claim that such education cannot significantly raise the educational level of the Blacks but will lead to the deterioration of the quality of education received by white children. Such propaganda is aimed at justifying the actual inequality between black and white Americans in all spheres of life and the failure of the US ruling circles to take practical measures to raise the education level of young Blacks, Hispanics, and Indians.

In recent years numerous publications have appeared in the United States, which seek to prove that the existing racial inequality is "just" and "natural" since it is allegedly based on the inborn inequality of talents and abilities of individuals and does not contradict the bourgeois idea of equality.

In the early 1970s, bourgeois science was called upon to help wage yet another large-scale propaganda campaign unleashed in the United States with the support of official Washington whose aim was to shift the burden of responsibility for the difficulties experienced by white Americans onto the shoulders of their coloured fellow-citizens. A deliberately distorted image of Blacks, Indians, and Hispanics was being created: they were portrayed as people who either do not want to work at all or who "hunt" for the jobs of the Whites and demanded "too much". The socio-economic programmes adopted in the late 1960s and early 1970s were said to be money going down the drain. The academic establishment promptly came up with a new catchy phrase—"racism in reverse"—to describe the measures aimed at improving the position of the ethnic minorities; these measures allegedly add up to discrimination against Whites.

Many white Americans thus came to believe that the demands of Blacks and other minorities jeopardize their own interests. Former supporters of the fight against legalized segregation openly sided with racists when it came to the actual elimination of the grave consequences of racism.

A Chinese immigrant David Tom spent thirty-two years in a mental institution in Chicago, Illinois. He was just over twenty when he was put there in 1952. His troubles started when he was taken to hospital with tuberculosis. The doctors to whom Tom's Chinese sounded like gibberish without hesitation diagnosed it as schizophrenia, and Tom landed in a mental hospital. At the time all he could say in broken English was: "I am not crazy" and "Why put me here?". But nobody would listen or try to understand him.

Thirty years had passed before there came a man who understood Tom's speech and found him quite sane. However, it took another four years of appeals to courts and the intervention of liberally-minded lawyers before Tom was declared "sane". At the end of 1983 David Tom, now a grey-haired old man, was released from the mental institution to face a strange world.

David Tom's tragedy is a reflection of the language intolerance prevailing in American society and the contempt for the language and cultural traditions of ethnic minorities.

Hispanic Americans, Indians and other ethnic groups that use their native languages as the basic

means of communication in the family and among themselves face a serious problem of language discrimination. The language barrier effectively deprives millions of people of the chance to enjoy "equal opportunity" proclaimed in the Constitution.

The theoretical basis for ethnic, cultural and language intolerance was yet again provided by the idea of Anglo-Saxon superiority. Harold Howe, head of the Education Division of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, once said that in the American society Anglo-Saxon origin and standards of behaviour meant virtue, decency and even political loyalty, that other cultures were not only different but inferior and should be eradicated both for the benefit of the country and in the interests of the child who should learn to speak English and stop speaking any other language.

Until the early 1970s students who had a poor knowledge of English had been denied the opportunity to get an education in their native language. This was enforced by the legislation of a number of States. They could not even use their native language when speaking with their friends. In Texas, for example, until 1969 those who spoke Spanish on school premises were subjected to corporal punishment.

The "language barrier" creates a vicious circle in which several generations of Hispanics and members of other minorities have been caught. When their children go to school they are usually not prepared to study in English. As a result, they fall more and more behind English-speaking students, and most of them drop out of school without completing their education. They find themselves at a great disadvantage when they start looking for work and often take the lowest-paid jobs. And

their children, brought up in poverty, come to school equally unprepared. The "language barrier" not only prevents members of ethnic minorities from getting a good start but stands in their way all their lives. It makes getting a job or a promotion more difficult, reduces their chances of receiving social security and welfare benefits and taking part in political life, and leaves them in cultural isolation.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s the mass movement of Hispanic Americans forced the ruling circles to adopt legislation on bilingual education and take practical steps to introduce bilingual education programmes. However, only a small part of the children benefitted from the measures taken. Approximately 3.6 million American schoolchildren do not speak English, but only 330,000 of them were covered by bilingual education programmes in the early 1980s.

Yet even those very limited measures became the target of fierce attacks by reactionary forces after the Reagan Administration came to power. The signal for attack came in 1981 when the US Supreme Court ruled that the firing of Hector Garcia for speaking Spanish at work with his fellow-workers was quite lawful.

Having declared that bilingual education "is contrary to American concepts" the Administration set itself the immediate goal of diluting the bilingual education legislation and sharply reducing bilingual education programmes. The final objective is the adoption of legislation prohibiting bilingual education, preventing Hispanic Americans and members of other minorities from being taught in their native languages and from using them in socio-political life.

40 One of those who inspired and initiated the

"Mind you, English is the official language of this country!"



movement to make English the only language spoken in the United States was an ex-Senator from California S. Hayakawa. As a legislator he did not leave any noticeable mark in the country's history. He is more often remembered as the Senator who vainly tried not to fall asleep during the debates. All his energy was directed towards passing a constitutional amendment which would pronounce English the country's only language. With this end in view, in 1983 he set up an organization called "U.S. English". Two years later it had 80,000 members and branches in many States.

Thanks to the efforts of reactionary forces five States—Virginia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky and Nebraska—adopted English Language Amend-

ments banning the use of any other language but English in socio-political life and in education. Similar amendments were submitted to the legislative bodies of Florida and California and also to the US Congress.

According to the American Civil Liberties Union the adoption of such an amendment could have serious consequences as far as the civil rights are concerned. A Washington lawyer Wade Henderson says that should it be adopted on a nationwide scale "government services could be required to be only in English, ballots would be printed in just the national language; street signs and instructions on government information would be in English". The amendment would put an end to government-financed bilingual education programmes.

Attacks on bilingual education programmes and

persistent attempts to bring the United States back to the age of language uniformity are yet another sign that racism is on the offensive. The United States has the fourth largest Hispanic population in the world. More than half of Hispanic Americans are under eighteen and need to get an education.

The fact that there are schools where children from wealthy families can attend classes in two languages (for instance, English and French) does not at all trouble Hayakawa or other opponents of bilingual education. They are only infuriated if money is spent on educational programmes for children from the lowest social strata. The reactionaries resort to all possible means to convince American tax-payers that bilingual education programmes are "extravagant" and wasteful. In their opinion it is far better to spend money on the development of new types of weapons and on launching new military adventures.

A ban on bilingual education will also make it easier for the reactionaries to slow down the process of growth of political activity on the part of minorities. It is no accident that more Hispanic Americans began to go to the polls in the second half of the 1970s after the adoption of the 1975 Voting Rights Act Amendment which requires that ballot-papers should be printed in two languages in districts inhabited by minorities. According to a survey conducted by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund one-third of Mexican American voters said that they could not have registered as voters if ballot-papers had not been printed in both English and Spanish. Therefore, should the amendment be revoked millions of Americans will be denied their constitutional right to vote.



Senator Hayakawa, a racist among racists

VICTIMS OF REAGANOMICS

*Poverty can be a stranger
In a far-off land
An alien face
Briefly glimpsed in a newsreel,
An empty rice bowl
In a skinny brown hand,
Until one bleak day
You look out the window—
And poverty is the squatter
In your own backyard.*

Lucy Smith

It has almost become a morning routine for a twenty-seven-year-old New Yorker Manuel Mateo to come and open that door. It is only eight but the hall is already full. Long queues stretched all the way to the entrance. It is so crowded that Manuel can hardly make his way to the end of "his" line. Long queues with people standing for hours are a typical sight at the unemployment centre on 181st Street in New York. Once a week Manuel comes here to get his unemployment benefit. Besides Blacks, those who come to the centre are mostly Puerto Ricans and people from Central and South

America and the Caribbean islands. All of them are here thanks to "Reaganomics".

For millions of workers, not only Blacks and Hispanics but also white Americans, October 1, 1981, when Reagan's programme of budgetary cuts came into force, was a sad day. Despite Reagan's promises that the programme "will move us toward black economic freedom" it is the Blacks and other ethnic minorities that have suffered from it most.

Left without benefits, millions of families are finding it more difficult to make both ends meet. They can even less afford medical service, housing and city transport. The reduction of unemployment benefits, food stamps and school lunches programmes puts many families on the brink of starvation. And discontinuation of job placement and professional training programmes destroys the only hope of finding work for the unemployed young people.

Growing unemployment and reduced allocations for social needs have been accompanied by declining living standards of Blacks, Hispanic Americans and Indians. The economic gulf separating black and white Americans has been growing wider. Just as a quarter of a century ago the average income of a black family today is only 55 per cent of that of a white family. It looks as though there had not been two decades of civil rights struggle, and its achievements, alas, proved to be too fragile.

"The gap between the living standards of white and black people in the United States is wider today than it was when the civil rights movement gained momentum in the early 1960s," says Robert England, an American author.

Just as twenty years ago child mortality among Blacks is twice as high as it is among Whites. In

1982, child mortality in Fairfax, a black neighbourhood in Cleveland, was 4.4 per cent. Faced with this shameful phenomenon, the Reagan Administration, after having reduced or frozen allocations designed to help needy mothers and children, declares that the United States is incapable of narrowing the gap between child mortality among white and black Americans.

The United States is indeed "unable" to solve that problem. This is proved by what happened to Sharon Ford, a black woman from Oakland, California.

On December 7, 1985, at ten o'clock in the evening Sharon went into labour. Her husband Lowell took her to the Brookside Hospital in San Pablo, a San Francisco suburb. But there they flatly refused to admit Sharon. Then Lowell decided to try his luck at the Merritt Hospital in Oakland where they arrived at 2:45 in the morning. The doctor who had examined Sharon said that there were complications: the fetus was wound in the umbilical cord and that could cause asphyxia. The hospital personnel doubted that the cheaply dressed black woman had any medical insurance and sent her on to the Highland Hospital. For the third time the poor husband had to put his almost unconscious wife into the car and by a quarter to four in the morning they finally arrived at the Highland Hospital. But it was too late. Forty minutes later a still-born child was delivered.

"As soon as they saw at the Brookside that the woman was black they refused to have anything to do with her. At Merritt, too, she was turned down," said Pat Zika, a lawyer. "In Ford's case racism is to blame," says another California lawyer Steve Shear.

Reagan's promise that when the tide comes it



We want jobs! Three thousand applicants for 250 vacancies at the meat factory in Memphis

will set all the boats afloat has not come true. The recovery that had started in 1983 and the somewhat improved state of the economy have not really changed the life of coloured Americans. The magazine of American business circles *Business Week* draws the conclusion that "today, Blacks, Hispanics, and other minorities are worse off than ever". The disastrous effects of Reaganomics can be seen at the unemployment centre, at the numerous night shelters in American cities which cannot accommodate the growing number of homeless people, and in the long queues in front of soup kitchens. All these people are victims of Reaganomics. There are more black faces there than white, and Spanish is heard everywhere. Hundreds of thousands of Manuel Mateos living in black and Hispanic ghettos of New York and other American cities want to work but cannot find a job. Many of them are denied unemployment benefits; for others,

the period during which they can receive such benefits expires long before they might find a job. All these people and their families are left at the mercy of fate with no hopes of a better future.

Homeless people line up in front of a night shelter



Here, at least, they can take shelter from the rain and cold





No room for them in the night shelter



Lines in front of soup kitchens can be seen everywhere in today's America





Free soup on Thanksgiving Day

"Feed the people, not the Pentagon!" Protests against cuts in social programmes



An elderly resident of Knoxville, Tennessee, ejected from her home for being unable to pay rent

WITH NO HOPES FOR A FUTURE

Man, Sonny, they ain't got no kids in Harlem. I ain't never seen any. I've seen some really small people actin' like kids. They were too small to be grown, and they might've looked like kids, but they don't have any kids in Harlem, because nobody has time for a childhood. Man, do you ever remember bein' a kid, Sonny? Damn, you lucky. I ain't never been a kid, man. I don't even remember bein' happy and not scared. I don't know what happened, man, but I think I missed out on that childhood thing, because I don't ever recall bein' a kid.

Claude Brown, Manchild in the Promised Land, N. Y., 1966

Since April 1985, when her house was burned down, Renee Elder has been living in a tiny apartment in Harlem together with her five daughters and five grandchildren. Renee is only 35 years old but her three elder daughters have already become mothers. Eighteen-year-old Andrea and 16-year-old Jacky have two children each and 15-year-old Christa has one child. They live in a world where

women have no husbands and children have no fathers. Just as poor people of the ghettos are isolated from the rest of America, men and women in the ghettos are isolated from each other.

The city, which in the first post-war decades provided many Blacks who had come from remote southern regions with an opportunity to improve their economic and social status, has turned into a trap for several generations of black Americans. The days when cities needed large numbers of workers for the factories and plants are gone. But people who were once attracted by that magnet have stayed on with their children and grandchildren. They stay without hopes of applying their skills anywhere and of being useful to society. Nearly half of young black Americans have no jobs. A quarter of young Blacks under twenty-five have never had a job.

A man can hardly be a reliable breadwinner in a world where he has little chance of finding a job. Furthermore, under the present welfare system having a husband stands in the way of getting an allowance which at least gives one chance of survival. According to the existing system, only a single mother can get family and other benefits for the poor. Thus, an unemployed father turns out to be "unneeded". This makes the ghetto men irresponsible and drives them to vagrancy. According to official statistics, 55 per cent of black children are born out of wedlock. Two-thirds of all black women have their first child while being unmarried.

More and more black women are becoming single mothers who depend on welfare. Many of them are "young grandmothers". A "young grandmother" is a single mother just over thirty who receives an allowance for her small children and for

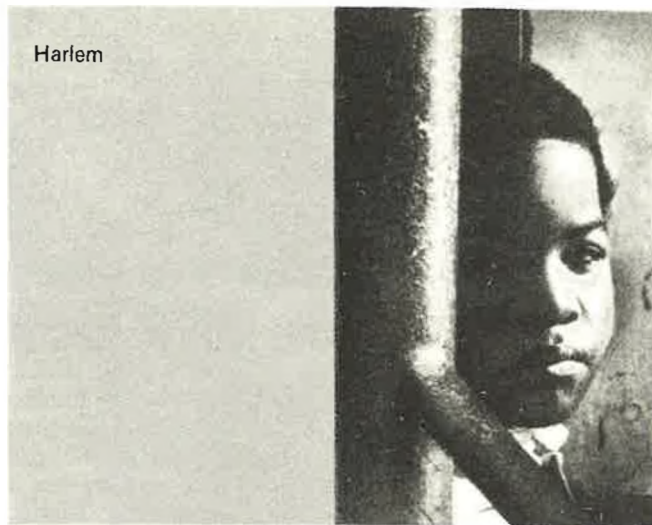
the children of her daughters that are not yet of age.

At 16 Earsel Peters has much more in common with her 33-year-old mother Catherine than many other girls of her age—they both have a two-year-old child. The family of eight—mother, Earsel, her three sisters and two brothers and her son Tekel—subsist on a meagre allowance of 394 dollars a month.

The social consequences of such motherhood are terrible. Sixty per cent of the children of adolescent mothers are doomed to living on welfare. They grow up without knowing what work is. They do not associate money with work. They also have a peculiar perception of time since in their everyday life there is no need to save it in order to be able to do something. They see no sense in getting an education. They do not actually starve like the poor in the Third World countries, but the food available to them is poor in quality and the effects of that are just as detrimental to their health and intellectual development.

A common feeling shared by women living in the ghettos is fear for themselves and their children. Schools in the ghetto are inadequately financed, apartment houses are in poor repair and utility facilities are notoriously bad. Children grow up surrounded by criminals, drug addicts and drug pushers, by mental patients thrown out of hospitals as a result of the budgetary cuts introduced by the Reagan Administration, and by homeless people living in abandoned houses. Poverty and violence are not new to the United States; however, they have never reached such a scale since the days of slavery as is found in the black ghettos today.

Thirty years ago a housing estate with a romantic name "Desire" was built with federal funds in New



This "house" made of plastic bags was torn to pieces by the police



This Harlem family has no father, and their mother is jobless

Orleans; it is now a refuge for 7,800 poor Blacks. Three thousand of them are from five to thirteen years old and 1,645 are under five. Children grow up fast in the streets of "Desire". To earn some pocket money twelve-year-old girls learn how to use their charms. Among the boys grey T-shirts and slacks are popular; they call it "jail chic". It is a kind of bravado, a gesture of contempt for what life has in store for them. Violence is a part of the life of many young residents of "Desire", as well as drugs, the lack of parental care, vagrancy, promiscuous sexual relations and periodic stays in prisons for juvenile delinquents.

Many children in "Desire" belong to the third generation of those desolate people who cannot escape the trap of their dependence on welfare, of crime and crumbled hopes.

The only Whites who dare enter the slums of Southern Bronx in New York are policemen protected by the steel of their patrol cars. Everybody who had somehow managed to climb up the social ladder has left the area. Only the poorest and most desperate people live there. Deserted streets with gaping windows, charred skeletons of burned-down buildings and not a single store for many



Their playground...

blocks—this is the land of hoodlums and youth gangs at war with each other. Groups of teenagers and young men hanging about watch intently all the strangers passing by. They have long dropped out of school and abandoned all hope of getting a job, they are full of pent-up rage and they wait...

The youngsters growing up in districts like Southern Bronx, according to a sociologist from

Pennsylvania University Frank Furstenberg are "a lost generation that is ill equipped to enter the labour force or to form families". His view is shared by Marcia Saunders, director of the employment programme in Dade County, Florida. "There's a tremendous number of kids with no hope in the job market," she says. "And in this community drugs are claiming a lot of them. It's just a horror."

A tall black youth with sad eyes who is called Fly is one of them. He was a good basketball player, and that could have opened the way to college for him. But at 15 he dropped out of school because, as he says, teachers treated him as if he were "nothing". Like many other Blacks of his age Fly left school with a firm conviction that for him education "is a mockery". The majority of these black teenagers believe that school is a place where they are subjected to humiliation and where they learn only one lesson really well—school is not for them.

At the age of 16 Fly left home where he felt he was "one more mouth to feed". Too young to get a job or an unemployment benefit and too "old" to be put in an orphanage he found himself in the street as an outcast full of pipe dreams evoked by TV commercials. "I wanted only to have a job, a house and all sorts of things," he says. But there were no jobs available, and Fly started hanging about in Kelly Street in Southern Bronx. As he describes it, he "had to survive, but was fit only to sell marihuana shots and other narcotics".

Finding it impossible to get a job many black and coloured young Americans resort to crime. Young residents of black ghettos are subjected to arrests for breaking the law from ten to twenty times more often than white young people. One out of six black Americans gets arrested before he is nine-



Ruined lives



In the New Orleans black ghetto named "Desire"





Comfortable enough...

teen. And though the connection between the living conditions in ghettos and the anti-social behaviour of the ghetto youth is quite obvious, the Administration in Washington is trying to solve the problem of crime by building new prisons instead of creating new jobs and providing young people with adequate professional training. Moreover, the Administration is gradually reducing the existing professional training and employment programmes. For instance, in 1986 the "budgetary scissors" cut the so-called "Job Corps" which was the only programme providing assistance to the chronically unemployed.

Twenty years have passed since the publication of the autobiographical novel *Manchild in the Promised Land* by the black writer Claude Brown. Deprived of their childhood by the cruel world of the black ghetto, the heroes of the novel should be well over forty now. But the world of the succeed-

ing generations of ghetto children is just as dreary and oppressive. The hopes raised by the civil rights movement of the 1960s turned out to be hollow for the inhabitants of black ghettos. The dreams have vanished in the flames of violence that swept black ghettos in the late 1960s. The invisible wall isolating the ghetto inhabitants from the rest of America became higher and more impenetrable. The dream cherished by Martin Luther King, that one day Blacks and Whites would sit down together at the table of brotherhood became even more unrealizable.

"We've lowered our expectations so that the American dream is a lot less than it was ten years ago. We've become comfortable with high unemployment, increasing poverty and increasing hunger," says a black Congressman William Gray.

The children on Indian reservations—descendants of the former masters of the continent



SITTING ON A POWDER KEG

*If I had-a my way,
If I had-a my way, little children,
If I had-a my way,
I'd tear this building down.*

*From a song of
the days of slavery*

Crippled childhood, ruined lives, a miserable existence in the backyard of the society of "universal prosperity", a constant, almost inborn fear of the policeman's club and the judge's gown, the fear of shouting mobs of racists and of an unexpected knock on the door at dawn. How can one talk about "equal opportunity" when there are long lines of people in front of soup kitchens, overcrowded night shelters, and black ghettos situated only a few blocks away from fashionable neighbourhoods, and when the Whites stubbornly resist desegregated housing? How can one talk about "equal opportunity" when there are people who have not yet been freed from the centuries-old slavery and from decades of legalized segregation and discrimination?

Let us imagine that two athletes are running

along two adjacent lanes. They have the same smooth track under their feet and the same grand stands around them. One athlete started a long time ago, while the other—only a few minutes ago with heavy weights tied to his feet. Does he stand a chance of catching up with his rival? For such a miracle to happen, the second runner should be given odds to compensate for his late start and the heavy weights fettering his foot. But the spectators yell from the stands that giving him odds will mean discrimination against the first runner and violation of the "equal opportunity" principle. The second runner just has to go on, falling more and more behind his rival. You can imagine how angry and desperate he must be.

Unemployment, poverty and diseases, overcrowded apartments, police violence and injustice of the courts constantly breed resentment in black and Hispanic ghettos and Indian reservations. This feeling of resentment is also stirred up by the society's indifference to the fate of people in ghettos, by the hypocritical attempts to use the "racial inferiority" concept to justify inequality, and by the authorities' reluctance to take any practical steps aimed at overcoming the grave consequences of racial segregation and discrimination.

In the mid-1960s the betrayed hopes of the inhabitants of black ghettos led to rioting and disturbances, and the echo of those days still makes official America shudder. During the 1970s the decade of the policy of "benign neglect" towards the Blacks, the explosive power of desperation had been accumulating in these enclaves, which in the 1980s turned into outright hostility.

The ruling circles do nothing to ease the tension and hatred building up in black and Hispanic urban ghettos. And this tension is further aggravated by

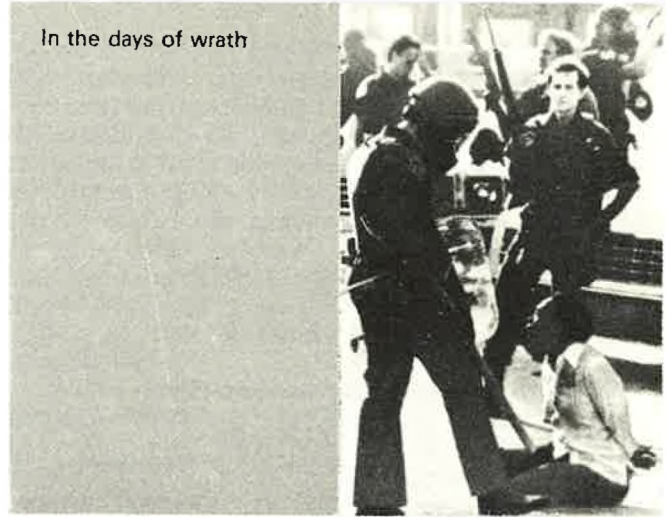
the Reagan Administration's attack on the basic achievements of the civil rights movement and by the atmosphere of racial intolerance and hatred created in the country.

According to the black Bishop H. Hartford Brookings, who is familiar with his congregation's sentiments, the hatred experienced by the ghetto residents today, as compared with the 1960s, is "much deeper and much more subtle. But it's much more dangerous; it's just a matter of igniting the fuse. And if it blows it'll be much worse than it was in the 60's."

Quiet desperation and apathy have their limits. Police violence and impunity for the murderers in police uniforms often become the spark that ignites the fuse. That was what happened in Miami in May 1980 when Americans watched on television, just as ten years before, burning black ghettos, broken shopwindows, stones scattered about, soldiers jumping out of jeeps with sub-machine guns at the ready, rushing at crowds of unarmed Blacks. For five days the fire raged in the black ghettos of Miami. For five days television and newspapers of the world gave a close-up of the monstrous face of American racism—the outrageous behaviour of the police, the presence of units of the National Guards, mobs of racists, and the blood-stained bodies of the dead and wounded. The same happened in Miami in the last days of 1982 and in Philadelphia at the end of 1985. It may start all over again any day in any ghetto of any American city.

Those who have sown the wind shall reap the whirlwind...

In the days of wrath



* * *

*Oh, I must search for wisdom every hour
Deep in my wrathful bosom sore and raw,
And find in it the superhuman power
To hold me to the letter of your law!
Oh, I must keep my heart inviolate
Against the potent prison of your hate.*

Claude McKay

Светлана Александровна Червоная

БУМЕРАНГ НЕНАВИСТИ

на английском языке

Цена 35 к.



THE BOOMERANG OF HATRED



Novosti Press Agency Publishing House

WELTER
THE
PELESS

